New South

- **Miracle of Adjustment**
- **Cotton, Cordiality and Conflict**
  William Rotch
- **Full Democracy**
  Benjamin Mays
- **Cogwheels and Plantations**
  George S. Mitchell

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New South Notes

THE JANUARY ISSUE of *New South* brought a strongly-worded protest from Grover C. Hall, Jr., Editor-in-Chief of the *Montgomery Advertiser.* Mr. Hall took issue with a statement concerning the policy of the *Advertiser* toward the White Citizens' Councils. As we wrote Mr. Hall, "We are sorry if one of the writers for *New South* has misconstrued the editorial policy of the *Montgomery Advertiser* toward the White Citizens' Councils; but at the same time, we are happy to learn that the *Advertiser* is not a supporter of the WCC."

In agreement with Mr. Hall, we reprint the following portion of his letter:

"The *Advertiser* is not a supporter of the WCC and never has been for one second of its life. We have, indeed, made the statement, that we remain 'cold' to the WCC.

"It is true that we have pointed out that the WCC is merely a political action group, which is patent to all but febrile croakers like your Mr. Anthony. Their meetings are open, they make wheezing speeches to each other, and then adjourn. When they do meet, the *Montgomery Advertiser* does carry a news item about the meeting, just as we carry accounts of the church meetings of Dr. M. L. King. I have often been rebuked by members of the WCC for the modest play we gave their meetings. As a matter of fact, when they have a small, routine meeting, I treat it as such in the news account. If they have a large rally, I would make an objective appraisal and treat it accordingly like any honest newspaper."

New South this month covers a variety of subjects including a news release on Washington schools.

Miracle of Adjustment

News Release
Of Anti-Defamation
League of B'nai B'rith

WASHINGTON, D. C.—The changeover to an integrated school system in the nation's capital has been a "miracle of social adjustment," a top official of the District of Columbia schools declared in a report made public by the Anti-Defamation League of B'nai B'rith.

Author of the report is Dr. Carl F. Hansen, Assistant Superintendent of Washington Schools, who described the change taking place as an "ongoing process" toward the successful attainment of full educational equality and opportunity for all students. His report was published by the League in its Freedom Pamphlet series on human relations. It reviews in detail the preparation and careful planning for the integration of Washington's schools and the progress of the program to date.

In issuing the report, Henry Edward Schultz, ADL national chairman and a member of the Board of Higher Education of the City of New York, declared that, "Dr. Hansen's authoritative findings should serve to balance the one-sided and negative picture presented by the opponents of the integration program in Washington."

Noting the sharp criticism levelled against the program by a Congressional subcommittee headed by Representative James C. Davis, Mr. Schultz pointed out that Dr. Hansen's data, "based on intimate knowledge and gathered from first-hand sources, was prepared before the Congressional group published its report last December 28th and was not written as a rebuttal to the subcommittee's findings. Nevertheless, his own evaluation of the accomplishments of the integration program stand in strong contradiction to and offset the conclusions of the subcommittee."

"It is significant," Mr. Schultz added, "that while four members of the subcommittee signed a statement urging that the District of Columbia abandon school integration, two other members issued a declaration challenging the subcommittee's recommendations."

"Dr. Hansen's findings," Mr. Schultz declared, "convincingly answer the subcommittee's principal charges."

1. According to Dr. Hansen's report,

Adjustment

(Continued)

school superintendent Hobart M. Corning had a carefully worked out desegregation plan and did not start integrating the schools without careful study as the Davis Committee charged.

2. Dr. Hansen reports that disciplinary problems have been "relatively low."

3. He says that prospects for a better school system are steadily growing and there is no basis for fear that integration will lower educational standards or reduce teaching efficiency.

4. Answering the charge that school integration has greatly accelerated an exodus of white residents to the suburban areas of Virginia and Maryland, Dr. Hansen declares that the movement to suburban areas is widespread throughout the country and is not the result of school integration.

Early Plan

Amplifying these points, Dr. Hansen's report says that "the superintendent had a desegregation plan, complete as to principle and quite finished as to detail, ready for presentation to the Board of Education eight days after the Supreme Court decision. He had directed his staff in the preparation of the plan in a series of work sessions that began in April of 1953."

Preparation for desegregation, Dr. Hansen adds, were completed with the cooperation of various community groups, and enhanced by the start of a "system-wide" inservice program on intergroup education.

"Admitting that desegregation has added a new dimension to disciplinary problems," Dr. Hansen's report says on the question of juvenile delinquency, "and that too many cases, both Negro and white, are discouragingly severe, the real truth is that on any given school day a visitor in the District public schools will find school being held in normal order and in an impressively businesslike manner. . . .

Discipline

"The proportion of serious disciplinary cases to the total enrollment is relatively low, according to a survey of the number of severe disciplinary cases in each District public high school during the year 1955-56."

"Most extra-curricular activities," he adds, "have continued without interruption since the schools were integrated in 1954. These include girls and boys sports, journalism, speech activities, clubs, Red Cross. The catalog is almost endless. All of these activities are democratically interracial and intercredal and provide excellent opportunities for experience in social and civic leadership."

Dr. Hansen's report stressed that the movement to suburban areas—another of the subcommittee's changes—"is a widespread phenomenon throughout the United States" and noted that between 1940-50, "the increase in suburban growth in the New York City area was almost 19%, in Chicago 31%, in Los Angeles 69%, and in Cleveland almost 41%."

Emphasizing that "cultural change is a slow process," Dr. Hansen's report says that "desegregation does not provide a miraculous solution" to the overall average educational backwardness which is found in most urban centers because of crippling economic and so-

cial conditions.

But, he adds, "the superintendent and the Board of Education (in the District) are well on the way to the realization of their primary objective: the maximum development of every pupil, regardless of race, creed, cultural and economic status, and supposed capacity for leading. . . .

"The big fear, that integration will impair the education of some children in the community, is rapidly yielding to the concentrated drive to effectuate the big solution. The prevailing spirit in the District of Columbia is positive and dynamic. It looks forward to a growing and improving school system, to a betterment of educational opportunities for all children, and is resolved to let no transient troubles prevent the realization of the ultimate goal—a better community through brotherhood."

Integrity

"Anyone who views the Washington story in its entirety, including the problems, disappointments and errors in judgment," Dr. Hansen's report declares, "will be impressed with the evidence of the integrity of most of the people in it, and will feel a glow of pride that in the nation's capital the ideal of individual dignity and worth no longer simply an idle phrase in a textbook on American democracy, is now to a much larger extent a living reality in the lives of its citizens. . . .

"The preparation and planning, and the successful carrying out of these plans in connection with the changeover to an integrated system of schools are the product of the leadership of Superintendent of Schools Hobart M. Corning. But behind the man and the idea is a staff of professional teachers and principals who put plans into action with strength, courage and unshakable determination exemplifying the best in the teaching profession despite in many instances a personal leaning to the contrary. Students and their parents, civic and citizens organizations almost uniformly supported orderly processes of change, sometimes despite their personal opposition to it."

The Anti-Defamation League's series of Freedom Pamphlets are prepared under the supervision of Oscar Cohen, ADL national program director.

Supremacy Myth

"We believe that those who believe that the supremacy of one race of people over another is taught in, or is substantiated by the Bible are in error. Whatever the name, origin or history of any organization or group, we consider it a serious and deplorable matter for it to suggest promoting some of its activity by the method of inciting fear, using threats, and lawless and secret violence in our Christian and American way of life. The express purpose to use secret and unlawful violence to suppress a people is nothing short of what much of the world is now deploring in the actions of Communist Russia in Poland and Hungary."

The Rock Hill, South Carolina, Ministerial Association

Cotton, Cordiality and Conflict

By William Rotch
Editor of The Cabinet
Milford, N. H.

THE NEW ENGLAND EDITORS were not invited to Mississippi to tell the South how to solve its segregation problems. If we had gone merely as tourists there would be little excuse for coming home with outspoken opinions. But we were invited to get a "true picture" of the state, and it seems to us that this imposes an obligation to record our impressions, both complimentary and critical. This is the final article to appear under the heading: "Cotton, Cordiality and Conflct." We saw much that was fine, much that was disturbing. Here we will wind up the series with some observations on the race issue, which to a visiting Yankee appeared to be by far the South's outstanding problem.

A cornerstone of the American heritage is the belief that all men are created equal under God and that the privileges of citizenship must not be denied because of race, color or creed.

Do you believe it, or not? It is important to ask yourself that question, and seek an honest answer. If you believe it is true as a general rule, but that there are exceptions, that the Negro was not created fully "equal" to the white man, if you believe that because of his color there are practical reasons for denying him the full rights of citizenship, then the South's way of life falls into a pattern that makes sense.

If you happen to believe that those principles mean exactly what they say, that America can permit of no exceptions, then segregation as we saw it in Mississippi is both unchristian and undemocratic, and is a disturbing and frightening thing.

Perhaps it was the contrasts that got us down.

At Natchez a lady of education and charm asked if we had heard the latest verse her children were singing: "See you later, integrator; Little while, chocolate chile." That night a local publisher told us "Ah never have, and Ah never will, publish the picture of a niggah in mah paper." We asked why. "Because that would be letting down the bars." It surprised us to learn that he referred not just to local Negroes, but any pictures that showed Joe Louis or Marian Anderson, or an Associated

Press picture of the Brooklyn Dodgers.

Four of us slipped away from that dinner and found our way to a downtown office where we had arranged to meet with a group of Negro leaders.

"The Negro doesn't seek integration because he wants to be among the whites, but because he wants to be treated like a man." The speaker was a colored minister. "If we could only meet with the white people and try to work things out. But there must be good will. There cannot be good will when people distrust one another, and today conditions do not breed good will."

The following quotations are from our notes written up later that evening.

"We want to educate our people to the importance of voting. My father died several years ago at the age of 67. He was a fine father and a fine man, but he never saw a ballot. To me this seems a terrible thing, and I want my children to know a better life."

"As the Negro grows in intelligence he begins to realize what he has missed."

"Why are we here? Because you don't solve problems by running away."

Patience

"Things will work out in time—the whole world is changing. We must use weapons we can control. Patience is one of them."

"Conditions used to be better. Now, because of the White Citizens Councils, even the well-intentioned whites hesitate to speak out."

They backed up their feelings with specific examples, too. They showed us the voter registration forms with the "interpretation" clause that trips up many Negroes seeking to vote. They described the obstacles, real and psychological, that are thrown in the path of the Negro seeking to exercise his rights of citizenship. They described the "pattern of separate justice" that confronts the colored man who tangles with the law. We listened intently as the evening wore on, and then walked slowly back to the hotel.

Man

"I only want to be treated like a man." It seemed like a reasonable request in a city whose publisher won't print the picture of a Negro because it would be "letting down the bars," and where a person going to pay his taxes in the courthouse must choose between a window marked "White" and one marked "Colored."

The pattern was repeated in Gulfport. Gracious hosts, asking only that we judge their state fairly. A tour through the superb new Negro high school. Ironically, what we remembered most vividly are the eyes of the colored men we met in an office near the hotel where our party was being entertained.

"You are here as guests of the Sovereignty Commission; it was state money that brought you here, black as well as white. We want you to see the whole picture. The Negro is not happy. If you go home and say that he is content and that everything is fine, then you are letting down the Negro of the South.

"The whole way of life in Mississippi is established on the assumption that the Negro is inferior. The struggle today is the weighing of the value of that way of life against the rights of human beings to maintain their dignity.

"Don't hammer into my child's head the idea that he is inferior.

Conflict

(Continued)

"For the Negro who is content, things are not so bad. It is the Negro who wants to better himself who suffers."

The speaker was an educated professional man. We asked him why he chooses to stay in Mississippi.

"Because I am needed here. I am not going to run away. What happens to me is unimportant if it helps my people and my children."

Was the speaker a "radical, on the payroll of the NAACP," as we were told later? To some of us Yankees the question seemed irrelevant. A fact is a fact, whether repeated by a radical or a conservative, and what we were told that night checked closely with what we had seen and heard elsewhere in Mississippi.

Differ

Perhaps this is where we differed most strongly with our southern hosts. In the eyes of Yankees brought up in the New England tradition of the American Revolution, a situation such as Mississippi segregation is weighed against a standard of human rights. If freedom and human dignity are lacking, the fact that the Negro may be content, indifferent, or well-cared for has little to do with the real problem.

One theme that was hammered home all along our route was: "Look how much we are doing for the colored people. Look at the schools we are giving them, the colleges, the jobs." These things are true, and in their way, they are wonderful.

To southern ears it is base ingratitude when the Negro complains. To northern ears it makes sense when the Negro says: "I don't want to be given things and be told I should be grateful. I want to be treated like a man." It is this challenge to human dignity that upset some of the Yankee visitors.

Cleavage

A northerner instinctively tends to put himself in the place of the Negro and say to himself: "How would I feel if these things were being done to me?"

We sensed a wide cleavage among the Negroes themselves. Some are satisfied to work things out within the pattern of segregation. These, we suspect, include many of the Negro educators. "They have humbled themselves for harmony," we are told. Other Negroes look on this as a surrender of human rights. It makes a complex situation even more difficult to understand.

It may be that we put too much emphasis on what a relatively few Negroes told us. That was a risk, as we tried to balance what whites and colored people said. We had one advantage: there were 20 of us, going off in small groups and coming together again to compare notes. It was possible to cover a lot of ground. Being from New England, we felt some of the Negroes talked to us with a freedom unusual in the South.

There are islands of hope. Many Negroes vote in Greenville. In Gulfport there are 1200 Negro voters. If, as Negroes told us, the ballot is their most effective weapon, this is important. There are other places — Hattiesburg, with a population of 12,000 Negroes was mentioned several times — where no known Negroes are on the voting list and a variety of methods, legal and otherwise, are used to discourage them from voting.

On top of this are the myriads of minor indignities designed to keep the Negro in his place that make mockery of "separate but equal" talk. Not only segregated rest rooms and waiting rooms, but the little things; in Gulfport a Negro is allowed to buy a Coke in a drugstore, but he may not sit down while he drinks it. In a Biloxi boat-building yard the refrigerated drinking fountains were designated "White only." No one seemed to know what a Negro does when he is thirsty.

The atmosphere is not healthy or well-defined. One of the sad features of the trip was the number of times we would be talking with a man who seemed to have a sane and balanced view of the situation—and there are many such people—only to have someone interrupt with a remark like, "They ought to ship every damned nigger north," or "They're inferior, I know it and you know it, and why pretend to these Yankees we think otherwise?"

South's Problem

Segregation is the South's problem, and volumes are written defending it and attacking it. We promise many times during the trip not to try to tell the South how to settle its difficulties, but we cannot resist the following comment on what impresses us as the major social problem of the nation:

—The problem will not be solved by pretending it does not exist.

—It will not be solved by blaming difficulties on "outside agitators" and "northern radicals." These are the effects, not the causes.

—The problem will not be solved by pointing to situation in the North, such as Harlem or Detroit which may be as bad or worse than anything in the South.

Human Dignity

—At stake in this struggle is human dignity, and until it is attained, new industries, roads and schools will not bring real prosperity to the South. Mississippi is still a poor state and it cannot afford "separate but equal" school facilities without sacrifices of either quantity or quality.

Is there hope? Definitely yes. Our guess is that it lies with the young people of both races. As the Negro becomes better educated and more prosperous the pressures against "second rate citizenship" will become stronger. The newer generation of whites will be more nearly ready to accept this adjustment; at least the young people we talked with seemed far more flexible than their parents.

A recent editorial in the Christian Science Monitor devoted to the problems of integration concluded:

"The solution to America's present race problem lies beyond courtrooms and legislative halls. It lies in the renewal of the willingness to work together for the common good."

We agree wholeheartedly. In the meantime, what? We asked a colored man in Natchez how he sees the future.

"I have hope," he said, and then there was a pause. "But I see a long, dry, dusty road ahead."

". . . Everyone is entitled to the equal protection of the laws. Everyone is entitled to equal treatment by police."—*Stephen P. Kennedy, Police Commissioner of New York City.*

Full Implementation Of Democracy*

By Benjamin Mays

President of Morehouse College

I am a Southerner. With the exception of eight years of college and graduate study in New England and the Middle West, have elected to live in the South. I have not accepted positions offered to me in the North and in Europe despite my almost instinctive hatred for legal segregation. I have been opposed to the practice of judging people on the basis of race and color, rather than on ability and character, for as long as I can remember. I shall always be against it.

I stay south because I believe my best work can be done in the South. I plan to continue to live here.

The United States emerged from World War II the most powerful nation on earth and the chief exponent of the democratic ideal in the world. We, perhaps more than any other people, have fought two world wars for the sole purpose of defending democracy. When the test came for the Supreme Court to declare itself on segregation, it would have been a colossal blunder if the leading democracy in the world had said again that it is constitutional for a man to be segregated solely because God made him black or colored.

Such a decision would have drawn Asia and Africa closer to Russia, and our European allies would have questioned our democratic pronouncements. We would have lost our moral leadership in the world. Furthermore, the judges had to interpret the Constitution as they understand it. It is a pity, therefore, that the political leadership of the South did not see this and accept calmly the decision rather than inciting rebellion against it.

The South accepted the 1896 decision of the Supreme Court (Plessy vs. Ferguson) which confirmed the "separate but equal" doctrine. Tragically enough, the South obeyed only a part of that decision. It adhered religiously to the "separate" section of the doctrine but deliberately disobeyed the "equal" part of it. Educational statistics attest to the fact that the South never did take seriously the equalization phase of the 1896 decision until Negroes began to sue in state and federal courts. In all too many instances the gulf of inequality widened with the years.

**Reprinted from Christian Century*

When the court ruled that segregation was constitutional, the South was pleased and obeyed the "separate" phase of it. But when the court ruled against segregation the political leadership of the deep South rebelled. Governors and attorney generals denounced the decision. State legislatures took action against it. Nullification acts were passed. Leading statesmen signed the Southern Manifesto. In some areas the Ku Klux Klan came to life again. White Citizens Councils were organized. Negroes who petition school boards to desegregate the schools are threatened. Efforts are being made in four states to destroy the NAACP mainly because it has argued successfully before the Supreme Court 36 out of the 39 cases. The press, the radio, and television are used by the South to convince the nation that the Supreme Court made a mistake in declaring segregation unconstitutional.

Obeyed Law

And yet Negroes have more than obeyed. They accepted both segregation and inequality and the humiliation that accompany them. For 58 years since 1896, Negroes have staged no riots in defiance of a decision that embarrasses them and places upon them badges of inferiority.

It is painfully disappointing to southern Negroes that the white leadership of the South did in this instance what it has traditionally and habitually done. It acted as if Negroes do not exist. In most of the deep southern states Negroes constitute from 25 to 45 per cent of the population. When the Supreme Court handed down its decision declaring segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, it would have been the part of wisdom for the leadership of the two groups concerned in the deep South to sit down in their respective communities and discuss calmly the decision and decide what the next step would be in the light of the decision. This was not done.

No Cooperation

Governors, state attorney generals, politicians, school officials, and newspapers began to castigate the Supreme Court and announce what the South was not going to do. All the while they meant the white South. Negroes for the most part were never consulted. In the one or two cases where they were consulted, the plan was cut and dried beforehand. To these leaders the Negroes are not a part of the South. And herein lies the tragedy of human relations in many areas of our South. Things are done for Negroes and not with them. They are told what the decisions are but are not permitted to participate in the decisions.

I am convinced that if the leadership of the white South had in good faith considered all the people, it would have found Negroes understanding of the difficulties inherent in implementing the decision and they would have gone along with a reasonable timetable as to implementation. I am equally convinced though that no respectable, responsible Negro leadership would be a party to any scheme designed to defy the work of the Supreme Court or circumvent its decision.

Democracy

(Continued)

The efforts to prove by various tests and biased hearings that Negroes are not ready for desegration in the public schools are not convincing to Negroes. When it is revealed that Negroes, on the whole, do not do as well as white people on psychological and educational tests, Negroes are not alarmed. They know that for 244 years before emancipation and for 92 years since emancipation Negroes in the South have been denied equal educational, cultural, and political opportunities and equal job opportunities. They also know that even in the most segregated areas some Negroes do better than the average among white children and as well as the best in the white group. These tests and hearings do not indict the decision of the Supreme Court. They indict segregation. It would be a miraculous performance if the disadvantaged Negro child could in every particular equal the white child on the various tests.

Federal Aid

The Negro in the South is equally unimpressed when the South pleads to be left alone without federal interference. The southern Negro would be happy to be able to look to his state government for the guarantee of his civil rights. But the historical evidence is too slim for him to be optimistic over the prospect. He cannot forget that it was federal action that abolished the curtain in the dining car, gave the Negro the ballot in the deep South, removed segregation in interstate travel, made restrictive covenants unenforceable, made possible the equalization of educational opportunities, opened several of the state universities of the South to Negroes, declared segregation in the public schools unconstitutional, and abolished segregation on city buses.

Praise Court

Rather than damn the Supreme Court, we should praise it. It is our Constitution and our Supreme Court that give hope for democracy in this country and in the world. It is for these reasons that Negroes may be perplexed but not frustrated. They believe they can become first-class citizens in the United States without revolution and violence.

That America should exemplify the principles of democracy irrespective of race is far more important to the United States and to the world than the desegregation of ten million Negroes in the South.

The climate is favorable for a thoroughgoing democracy in the United States. The Negro worships the same God as other Americans. He follows the same Christ. He speaks the same language. He fights for the same flag. The Negro believes that under these inviting circumstances if democracy cannot work in the United States regardless of race it is doomed not only here but in the world. So he fights for the full implementation of democracy not for sixteen million Negroes but for 160,000,000 Americans.

Industry By-Passes Alabama

THE *Birmingham Post-Herald* has quoted two "leading executives" as saying that "expanding industry is by-passing Birmingham and other sections of Alabama in location of branch plants, sales offices, and warehouses" due to the publicity resulting from racial problems.

The two men are William P. Engel, former chairman of the Birmingham Chamber of Commerce Committee of 100, and Cooper Green, vice president in charge of industrial development for Alabama Power Co.

Mr. Engel is quoted in the *Post-Herald* as saying, "We must face up to our own deficiencies. The hoodlumism here has hit headlines throughout the nation. As a result, we have lost one major plant in Birmingham and several smaller installations.

"Place yourself in the shoes of a man who wants to bring a plant to Birmingham. Would you, under the circumstances do it?

"If we object to interference from outside interests we should object to interference from within."

The news story quotes Mr. Green as saying he has personal knowledge of two major and two minor installations that have shelved temporarily plans to move into Alabama.

He added, "The (racial) publicity has hurt Birmingham and Montgomery. Prospects on whom we call in an effort to get them to locate in the state have asked us about the trouble we are having here. No industry wants to move into a troubled area. I am not alarmed at the moment. I think we will continue to grow when the situation calms down and many prospects have indicated interest when the trouble subsides."

The Price We Pay*

Now, Birmingham can see the price which must be paid for the racial outbreaks and the resulting hoodlumism.

Two of the city's industrial and business leaders have pointed out that industries are shunning Birmingham and other places in the state where racial unrest has flared into violence.

It is understandable that plant officials would hesitate to move a plant into a city where there has been such violence.

This points up the necessity for our public officials to apprehend and bring to trial those persons who have been guilty of this violence.

We must live with our racial problems for years to come. But violence will only make them greater and will injure the whole community.

**Reprinted from Birmingham Post-Herald*

Cogwheels and Plantations

By George S. Mitchell

Formerly Executive Director, Southern Regional Council

FOR THREE HUNDRED YEARS the South played a game called plantations. Queer game! It depended for its motive-power solely upon the disciplined muscles of men and mules. South Carolina had a law forbidding the importation of a steam engine into the State. On their principles they were right. "Plantations" runs by some odd rules. It wants its workpeople ignorant, obedient, divided, and voteless. In so long a time everybody down here learned the rules of that game pretty well.

And while we played at plantations the North and West played cogwheels. Where they found a rill of water they put in a wheel and turned machinery and made things and sold them to us and got rich. "Cogwheels" runs by the opposite rules. It wants its workpeople highly educated; well if they can read blueprints. It does best if they are organized into a union. They need to be friendly; and you have to let them vote, else they'll overturn it.

Cogwheels and plantations had a war. Cogwheels won.

About twenty years after the war a few people down here began saying, "Now, that trick about cogwheels; maybe we could work that!" And they tried, and it worked. In the last fifteen years cogwheels have come with a rush. The South is now an industrial society. And we are still trying to run it by the plantation rules.

Put it more vividly. Assume a society where for three hundred years the national sport was mumbledepeg. Do you remember? With pocket-knife, off your nose and over your fist, and stick it in the ground? All the pink pages of the papers would be full of the world series mumbledepeg contests. And everybody knew all about how to play mumbledepeg. About fifteen years ago this society took to playing baseball on scooters—by the mumbledepeg rules. And it doesn't work so well. Every now and then somebody says, "Why don't we write up to the Supreme Court where they have the rules for scooter baseball and see how to play it right?" "No," the answer is, "This is the South, and we always did go by the mumbledepeg rules, and we're going to keep on!"

Noteworthy quotes from the press and periodicals

. . . Unquote

"We believe . . . that Americans everywhere should recognize that the White Citizens' Councils, in launching a campaign of hatred, violence, and intimidation in the South presents a threat to our democratic way of life and to the peace and security of American citizens in other parts of the Nation. This is not a local problem. It is a national problem and one that should challenge the attention and interest of Americans everywhere."

Resolution adopted at the Catholic Interracial Forum

• • •

"The world cannot exist half free and half slave. Are you ready and willing to assume personal responsibility for making it a world where there is respect for law, human dignity, individual worth and the divinity of man?"

Dr. Foye Gibson, president of Scarritt College, Nashville, Tennessee, as quoted in the CHATTANOOGA TIMES

• • •

"We don't have to appeal to fanatics. They're on our side anyway."

Robert Patterson, Executive Secretary of the White Citizens' Councils as quoted by UNITED PRESS

• • •

"If colored people can work in your homes, in your businesses and raise your children, why pick baseball to persecute?"

A prominent Georgia baseball man as quoted in the ATLANTA CONSTITUTON

"The decision on the school question does not constitute high crimes and misdemeanors by the Supreme Court. Therefore, I am not introducing a resolution of impeachment nor am I voting for a resolution of impeachment."

Rep. Carl Vinson concerning Georgia Legislature resolution to impeach six Supreme Court justices

• • •

"We recognize the Supreme Court decision as the law of the land. We further affirm that it embodies the moral and spiritual ideals of justice and brotherhood proclaimed by the church."

The Morristown District Methodist Church, Tennessee

• • •

"An unhappy heritage of the racial trouble in Montgomery that started with the bus boycott was the bombing . . . of four Negro churches. The pastors held services on Sunday, 'despite the wreckage and broken windows,' with special prayers 'for those who would desecrate the house of God.' Those words were worth more than any violent and angry denunciation could have been."

An editorial in the ARKANSAS GAZETTE

• • •

" . . . We fail to see that this Golden Rule applies to our children as well as to Negroes."

John T. Hains, president of the Augusta Chapter of the States Rights Council of Georgia